以色列总理私人史

（全2册）

I

THE PRIME MINISTERS

AN INTIMATE NARRATIVE OF ISRAELI LEADERSHIP

BY Yehuda Avner

[以] 耶胡达·阿夫纳 著

马娟娟 译

——美国前国务卿希拉里·罗德姆·克林顿

Hillary Rodham Clinton, US Secretary of State

——以色列总理本雅明·内塔尼亚胡

Benjamin Netenyahu, Prime Minister of Israel

——布雷特·斯蒂芬斯《华尔街日报》

Bret Stephens, *The Wall Street Journal*

社会科学文献出版社

The Prime Ministers□An Intimate Narrative of Israeli Leadership by Yehuda Avner

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[illegible]**Princess Diana**[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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"……本书全面描述了以色列政治和历史。"
——美国前国务卿希拉里·罗德姆·克林顿
"… a sweeping tome of Israeli politics and history."
Hillary Rodham Clinton, US Secretary of State
"……生动描绘了作者亲历的以色列的众多历史性时刻……提供了有关以色列领导人行动方略的洞见，为未来提供了重要的经验。"
——以色列总理本雅明·内塔尼亚胡
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Benjamin Netenyahu, Prime Minister of Israel
"用扣人心弦、私密、错综复杂的细节和快节奏讲述了以色列的高层政治……近距离领略以色列治国大戏中的危机时刻、胜利时刻、悲喜时刻。这本书让我爱不释手。"
——布雷特·斯蒂芬斯《华尔街日报》
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——戴维·霍罗维茨《耶路撒冷邮报》
"…one of the most remarkable accounts we are ever likely to get of how Israel has been governed over the decades… All of it is here … the intellectual arguments made and those that were not marshaled; the decisions taken and those that were ducked… the ultimate insider's account."
David Horovitz, The Jerusalem Post
社会科学文献出版社
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)

耶胡达·阿夫纳 Yehuda Avner

耶胡达·阿夫纳曾经担任贝京、拉宾、梅厄、艾希科尔等多位以色列总理的顾问和英文演讲撰稿人。他还曾任以色列驻英国大使、爱尔兰非常驻大使、澳大利亚大使，曾在以色列驻纽约领事馆，以色列驻华盛顿使馆任职。阿夫纳大使出生于英国曼彻斯特，从 1947 年开始一直生活在以色列。

马娟娟

浙江人，国际关系学院毕业，曾在新闻媒体长期从事国际新闻工作，译有《软实力》《战略：一部历史》等作品。

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社会科学文献出版社
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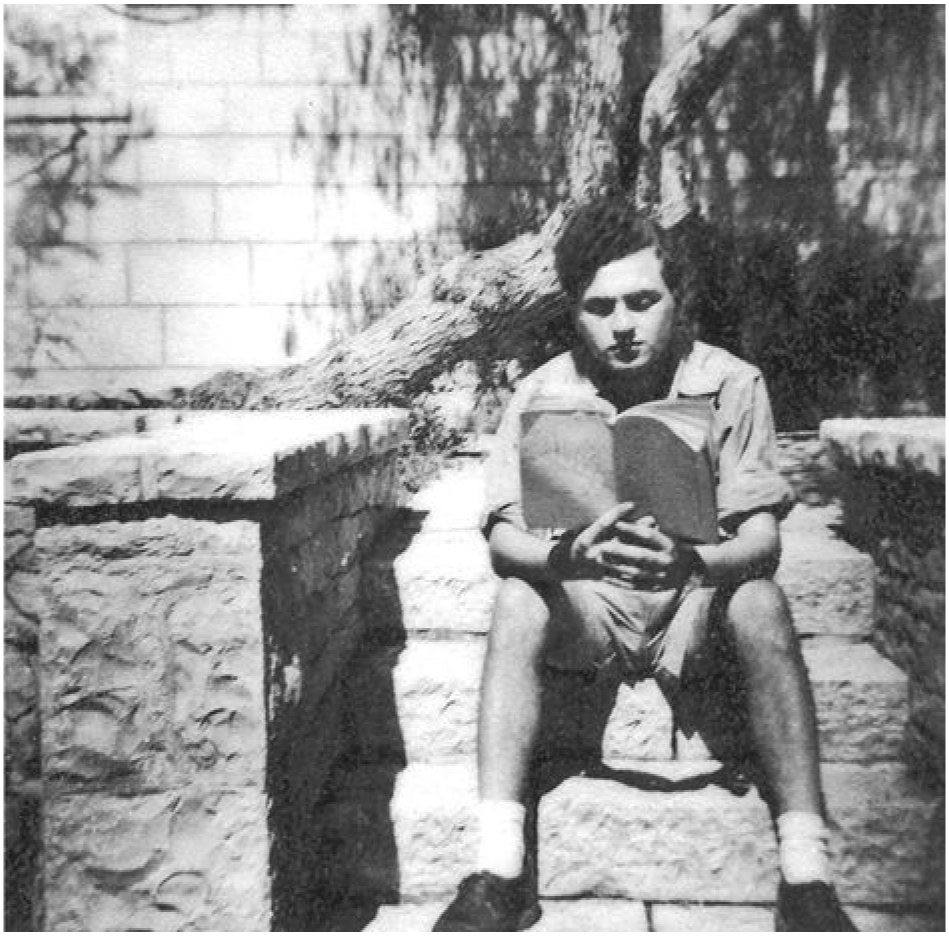

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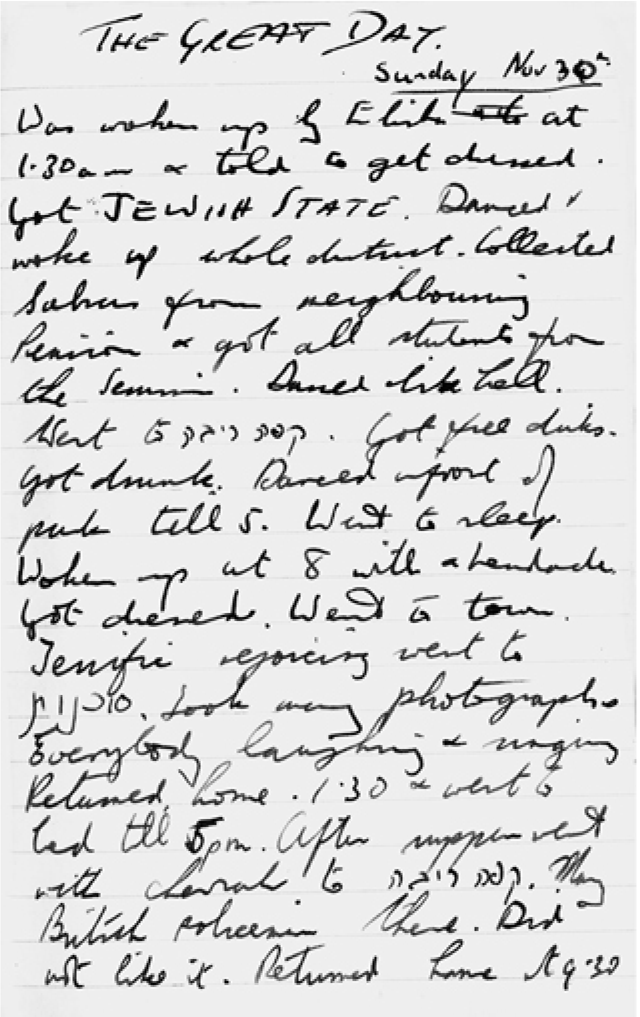

THE GREAT DAY.

Sunday Nov 30th

Was woken up by Elihu [?] ~~at~~ at 1·30 am & told to get dressed. Got JEWISH STATE. Danced & woke up whole district. Collected Sabras [?] from neighbouring Pension [?] & got all students from the Seminary [?]. Danced like hell. Went to קפה ריגה. Got free drinks. Got drunk. Danced in front of park till 5. Went to sleep. Woken up at 8 with a headache. Got dressed. Went to town. Jerusalem [?] rejoicing went to סוכנות. Took many photographs. Everybody laughing & singing. Returned home. 1·30 & went to bed till 5pm. After supper went with Leorah [?] to קפה ריגה. Many British policemen there. Did not like it. Returned home at 9·30

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]1947[illegible]Israel Defense Forces[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]Ali el-Husseini[illegible]—[illegible]·[illegible]Abdul-Khalek Hassouna[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Gershon Levy[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]

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[illegible]1933[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]1948[illegible]“[illegible]-[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Haj Amin el-Husseini[illegible][19][illegible]

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[illegible]——[illegible]Har Nof[illegible]——[illegible]Beit Hakerem[illegible]1948[illegible]4[illegible]9[illegible]5[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]40[illegible]·[illegible]Isaiah Berlin[illegible]——[illegible]the Order of Merit[illegible]

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1980[illegible]·[illegible]Yehuda Lapidot[illegible]*Lishkat Hakesher*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1948[illegible]4[illegible]9[illegible]——[illegible]

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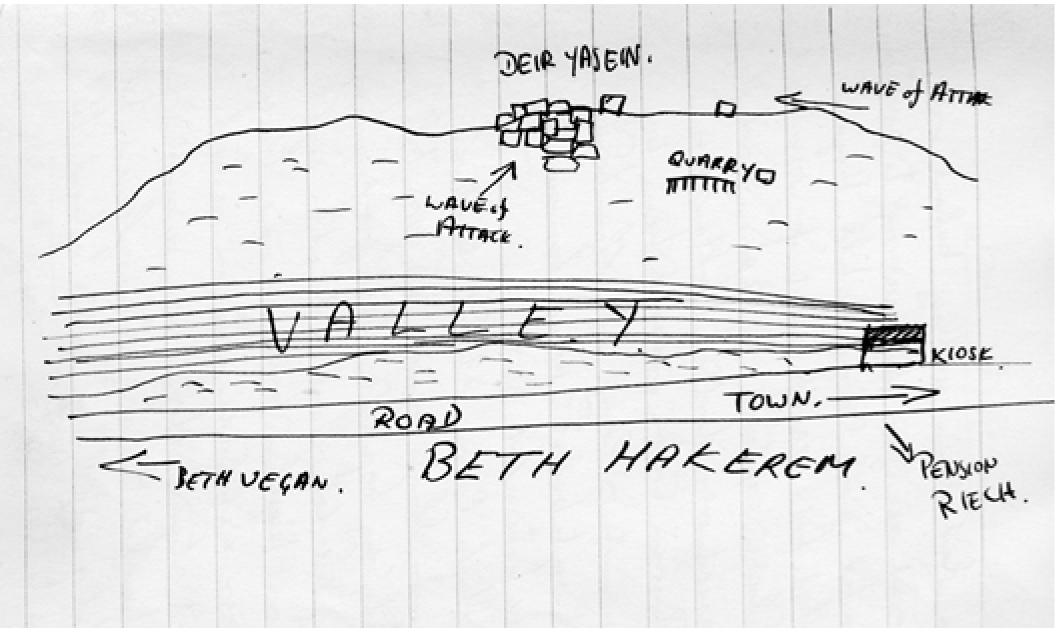

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[illegible]1959[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Gamal Abdul Nasser[illegible]1956[illegible]·[illegible]Yasser Arafat[illegible]·[illegible]1953[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

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[3] □□□□·□□□Menachem Begin□□□□□□□*The Revolt*□□Jerusalem□Steimatzky’s□1951□□43□

[4] □□□□·□□□Menachem Begin□□□□□□□*The Revolt*□□Jerusalem□Steimatzky’s□1951□□87□□·□□□J. Bowyer Bell□□*Terror Out of Zion* □Dublin□Academy Press□1977□□□□□□·□□□□Harry Hurvitz□□*Begin□His Life□Words□and Deeds* □Jerusalem□Gefen□2004□□

[5] Scarlet Pimpernel□□□□□□□·□□□□Emma Orczy□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[6] Talmud□□□□□□——□□□

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[8] Bell□*Terror Out of Zion*□184□

[9] Hatikva□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

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[11] Kaddish□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□

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1959[illegible]15[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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1963[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]-[illegible]1963[illegible]1965[illegible]——[illegible]Rafi[illegible]the Israel Workers’ List[illegible]·[illegible]Moshe Dayan[illegible]·[illegible]Shimon Peres[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]

1986[illegible]·[illegible]Abba Eban[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

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1986[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]Oratova——[illegible]Vilna[illegible]

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[illegible]15[illegible]Council of Jewish Federations[illegible]——[illegible]Jewish Federations of North America[illegible]——[illegible]

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“□*tov*□”□□□□□

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[illegible]·[illegible]Harold Wilson[illegible]——[illegible]Chieftain[illegible]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]Joint Israel Appeal[illegible]——[illegible]United Jewish Israel Appeal[illegible]——[illegible]”

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[illegible]“*Sheina Yiddisher kinderlach*[illegible]”[illegible]

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“*Stam narishkeiten*”——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”

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“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]17[illegible]80[illegible]1732[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Walpole[illegible]——[illegible]”

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]50[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”

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[illegible]1967[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Straits of Tiran[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]27[illegible]1948[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]St. Julian’s Way[illegible]——[illegible]King

David Street[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]Mamilla[illegible]1948[illegible]Jaffa Gate[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]Yemin Moshe[illegible]

[illegible]Mount Zion[illegible]1948[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]Inbal Hotel[illegible]Liberty Bell Park[illegible]——[illegible]50[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

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1967[illegible]5[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]Rehavia[illegible]·[illegible]

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1967[illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]300[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]*Yerushalayim Shel Zahav*[illegible]”——[illegible]

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[illegible]1948[illegible]

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1967[illegible]6[illegible]13[illegible]·[illegible]Gavish[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Moshe Milner[illegible]

1967[illegible]6[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]Shlomo Harel[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Ilan Bruner[illegible]

1968[illegible]1[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]David Eldan[illegible]

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1968[illegible]1[illegible]6[illegible]

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[illegible]Riverdale[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Nelson Rockefeller[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Jacob Javits[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Miriam Eshkol[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]“*Vus rett der goy*[illegible]”——“[illegible]”

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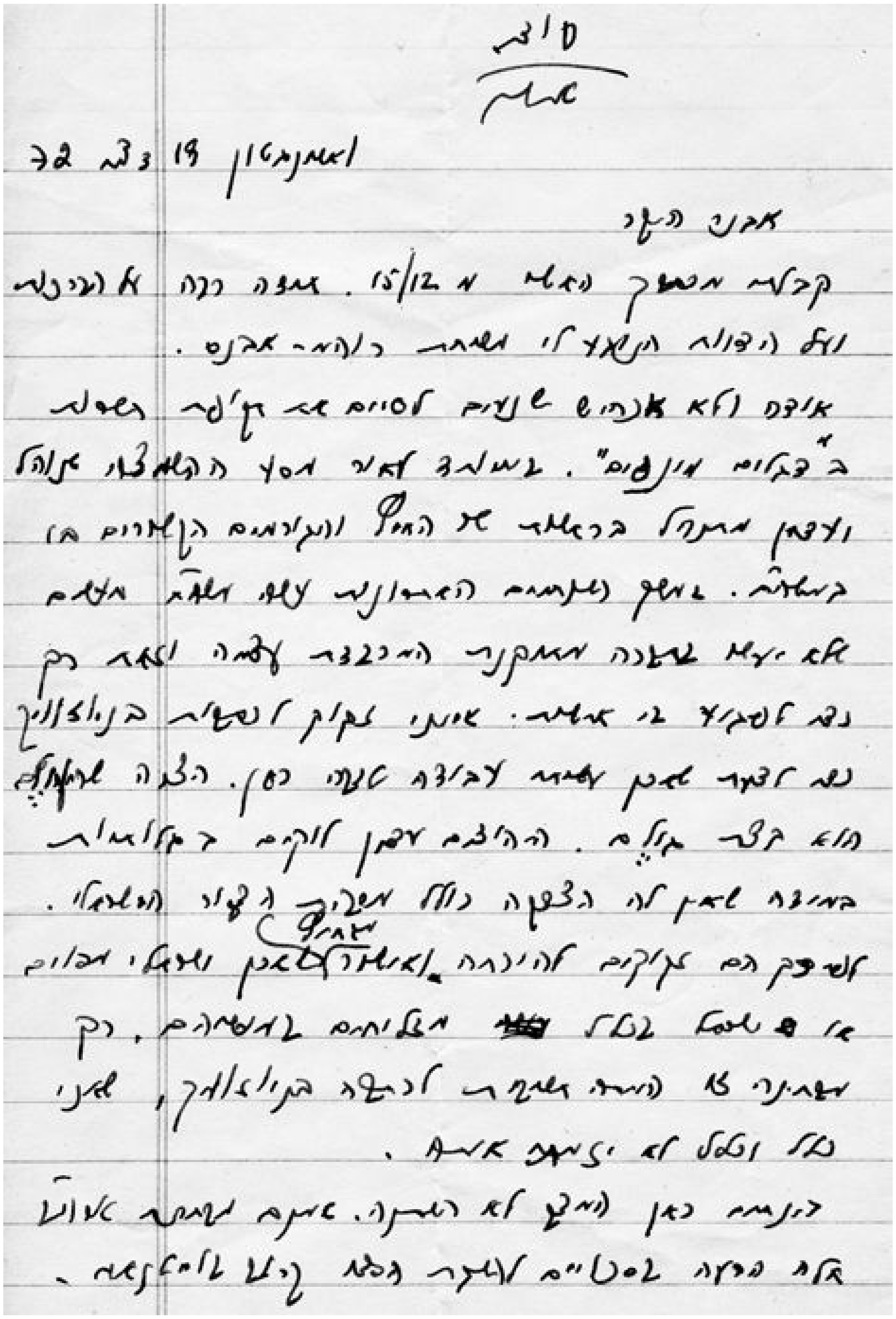
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[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

NOTHING,

AND

SO BE IT

To my friend

Yehuda Avner

who shared a drama of mine

and thanks God,

did not share this Vietnam one -

With love and thanks

Oriana Fallaci

Jerusalem 1972 november

[illegible]

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1973[illegible]11[illegible]13[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]2688[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]1974[illegible]1977[illegible]

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1975[illegible]7[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]

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1974[illegible]6[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]

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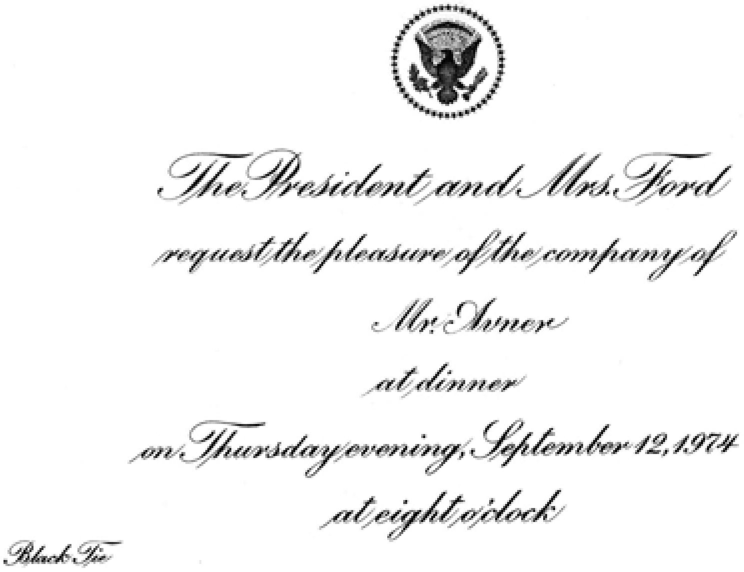
The President and Mrs. Ford
request the pleasure of the company of
Mr. Avner
at dinner
on Thursday evening, September 12, 1974
at eight o'clock
Black Tie

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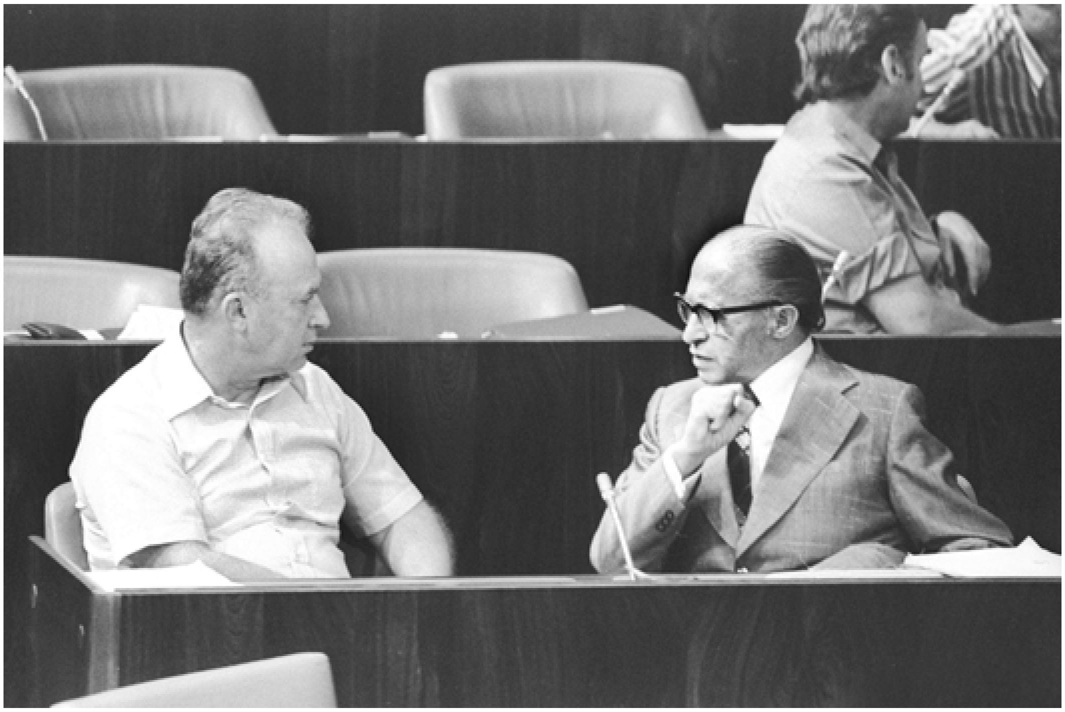

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[1] Kibbutze Degamya□“Deganya”□□“□□□□”□□□1909□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□——□□□

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[3] □□□·□□□Golda Meir□□□□□□□□□*My Life*□□London□Futura□1975□□266□

[4] Deborah□□□——□□□

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[6] Friends of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra□□□□□□□□□□□1980□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[7] Andrew Jackson□□□□□□□□□——□□□

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[22] Gloria Swanson□□□□□□——□□□

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[32] Svengali□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□*Trilby*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

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[43] Yehuda and Shomron□□Judea and Samaria□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

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[49] 1975□3□24□□□□□□□□□□□1975□8□29□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□215□

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[58] Aliya□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[59] □□·□□□Jimmy Carter□□□□□□□□□*Keeping Faith*□□□Fayetteville□AR□University of Arkansas Press□1995□□287□

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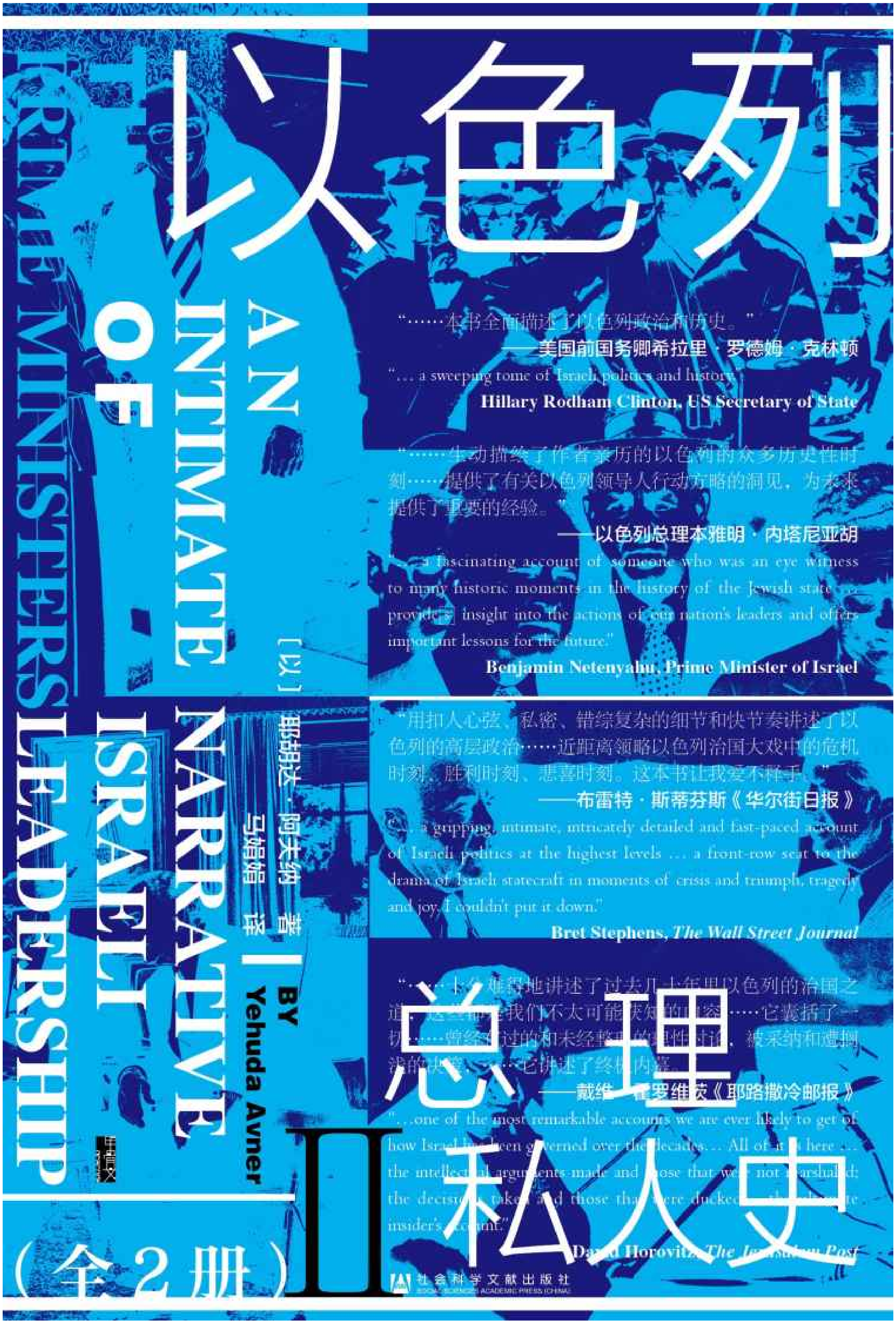

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（全2册）
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耶胡达·阿夫纳曾经担任贝京、拉宾、梅厄、艾希科尔等多位以色列总理的顾问和英文演讲撰稿人。他还曾任以色列驻英国大使、爱尔兰非常驻大使、澳大利亚大使，曾在以色列驻纽约领事馆，以色列驻华盛顿使馆任职。阿夫纳大使出生于英国曼彻斯特，从1947年开始一直生活在以色列。

马娟娟

浙江人，国际关系学院毕业，曾在新闻媒体长期从事国际新闻工作，译有《软实力》《战略：一部历史》等作品。

以色列总理私人史 II

BY （全2册）
Yehuda Avner

［以］耶胡达·阿夫纳 著
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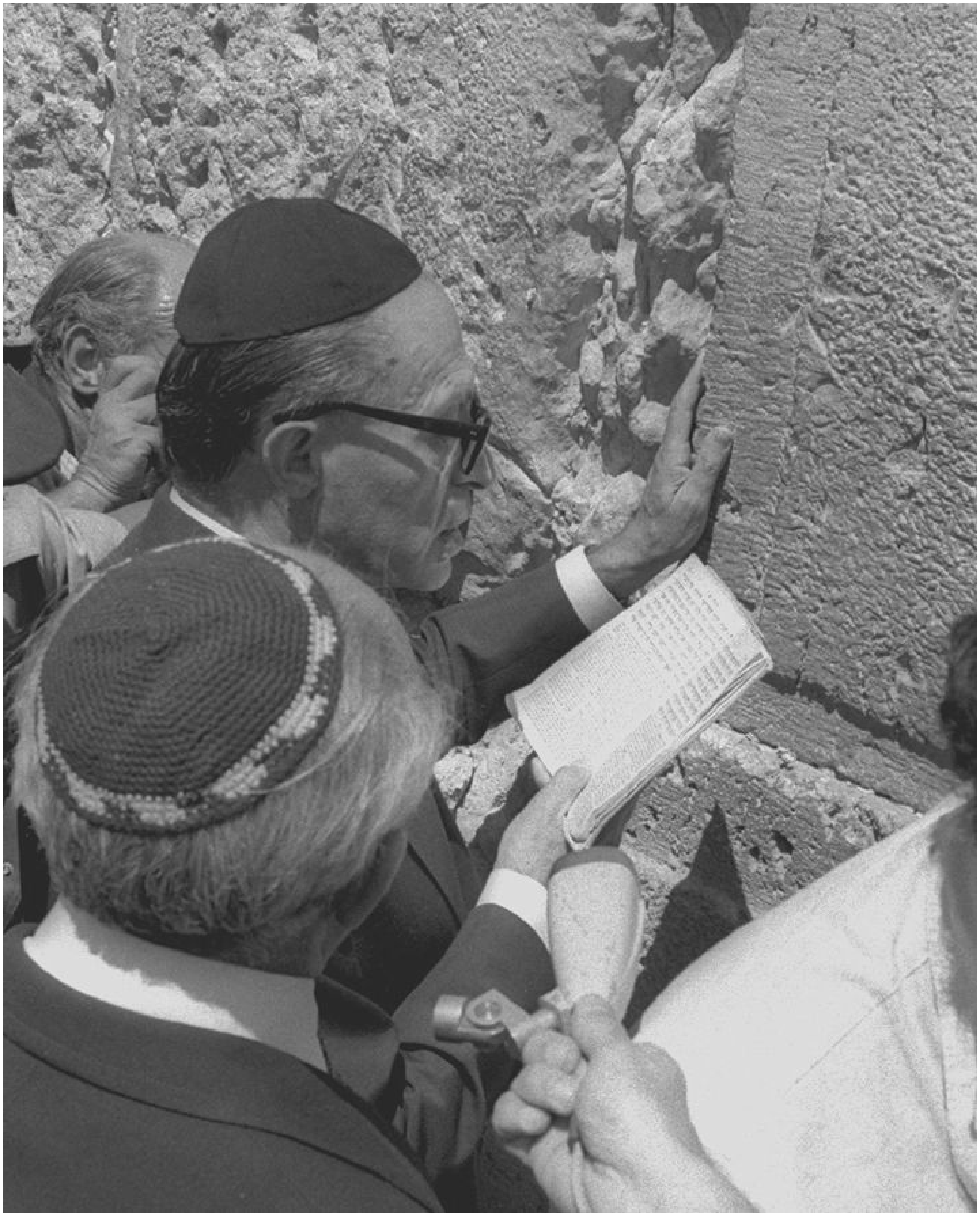

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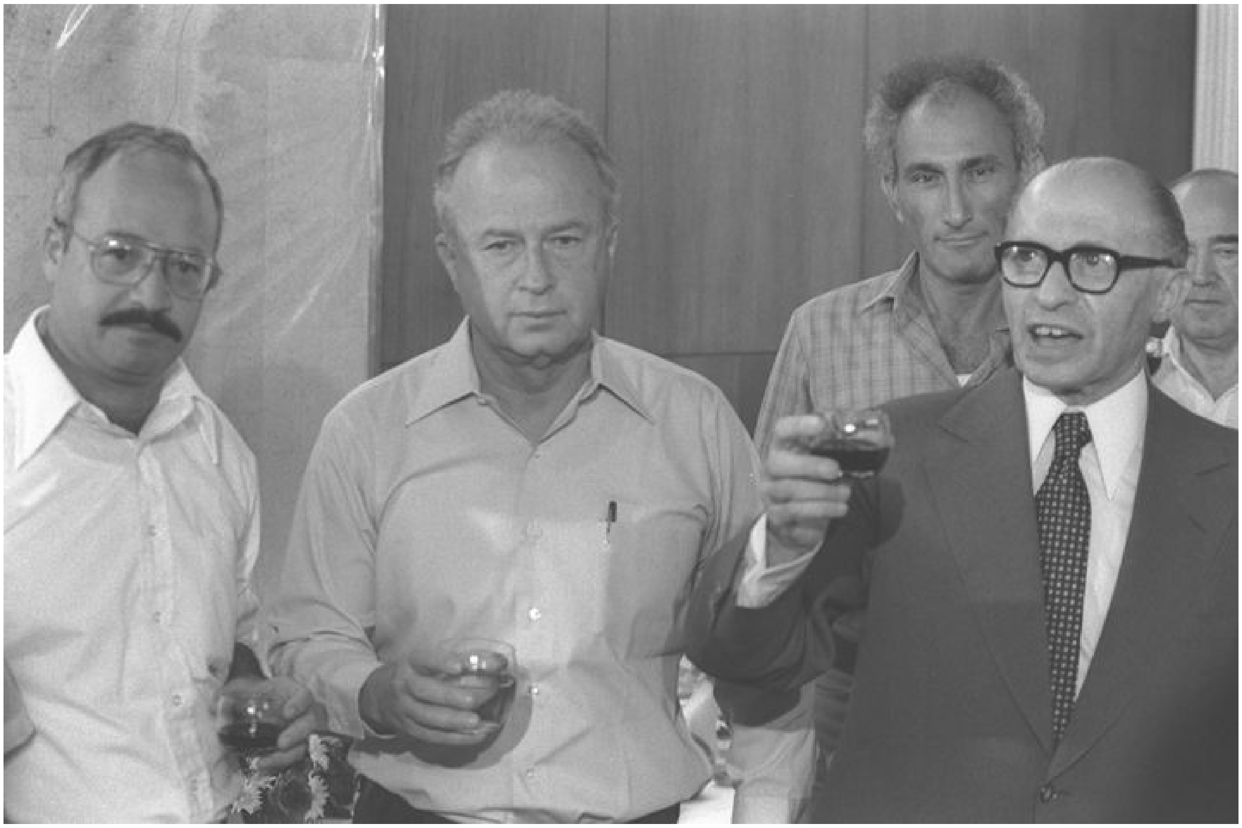

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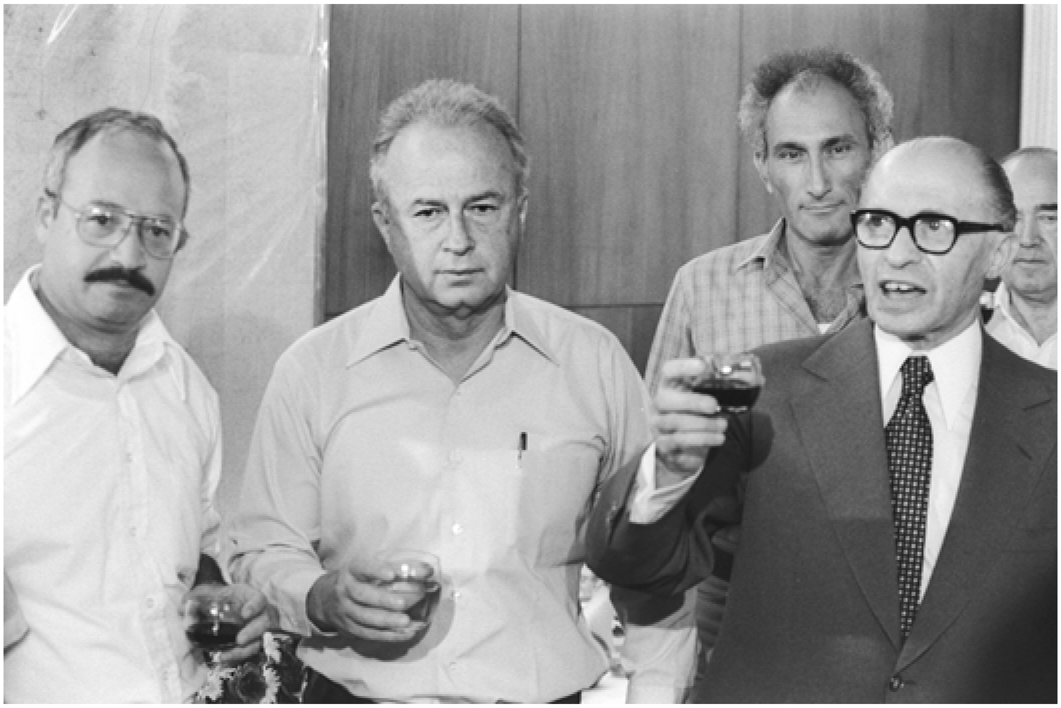

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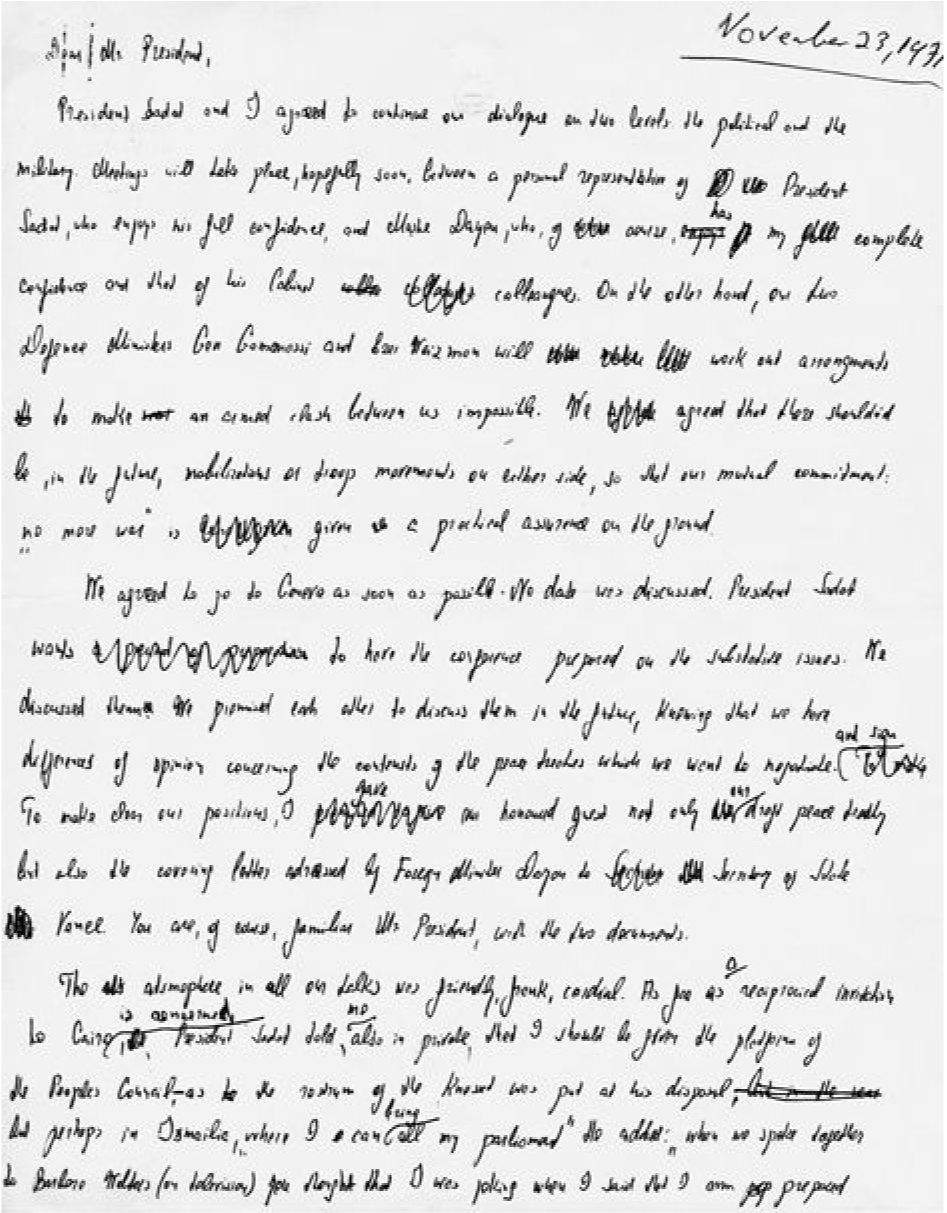

November 23, 1977

Dear Mr. President,

President Sadat and I agreed to continue our dialogue on two levels: the political and the military. Meetings will take place, hopefully soon, between a personal representative of President Sadat, who enjoys his full confidence, and Moshe Dayan, who, of course, has my complete confidence and that of his Cabinet colleagues. On the other hand, our two Defence Ministers Gen Gamassy and Ezer Weizman will work out arrangements to make an armed clash between us impossible. We agreed that there should be, in the future, mobilizations or troop movements on either side, so that our mutual commitment: "no more war" is given a practical assurance on the ground.

We agreed to go to Geneva as soon as possible. No date was discussed. President Sadat wants to have the conference prepared on the substantive issues. We discussed them. We promised each other to discuss them in the future, knowing that we have differences of opinion concerning the contents of the peace treaties which we want to negotiate and sign. To make clear our positions, I gave our honoured guest not only our draft peace treaty but also the covering letter addressed by Foreign Minister Dayan to Secretary of State Vance. You are, of course, familiar Mr. President, with the two documents.

The atmosphere in all our talks was friendly, frank, cordial. As far as a reciprocal invitation to Cairo is concerned, President Sadat told me, also in private, that I should be given the platform of the Peoples Council as the rostrum of the Knesset was put at his disposal, but perhaps in Ismailia, "where I can bring all my parliament" he added: "when we spoke together to Barbara Walters (on television) you thought that I was joking when I said that I am prepared

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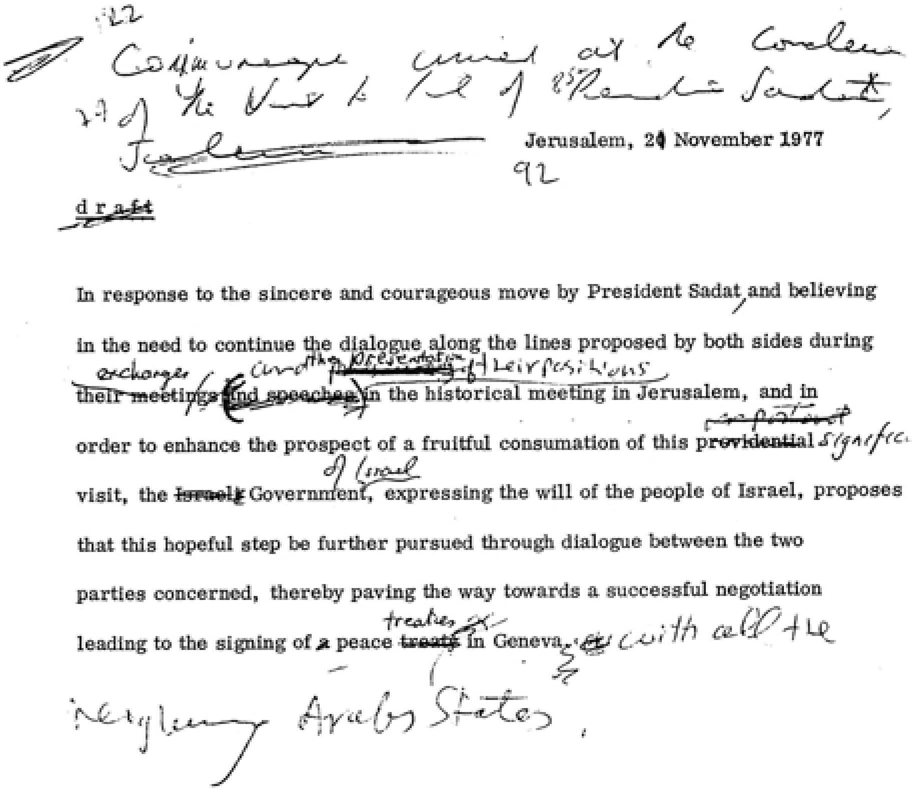
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Communiqué issued at the conclusion of the Visit to Israel of President Sadat, 20–21 November 1977

Jerusalem, 20 November 1977

92

draft

In response to the sincere and courageous move by President Sadat, and believing in the need to continue the dialogue along the lines proposed by both sides during their ~~meetings and speeches~~ exchanges in the historical meeting in Jerusalem, and in order to enhance the prospect of a fruitful consumation of this ~~providential~~ significant visit, the ~~Israeli~~ Government of Israel, expressing the will of the people of Israel, proposes that this hopeful step be further pursued through dialogue between the two parties concerned, thereby paving the way towards a successful negotiation leading to the signing of ~~a~~ peace ~~treaty~~ treaties in Geneva, with all the neighbouring Arab States.

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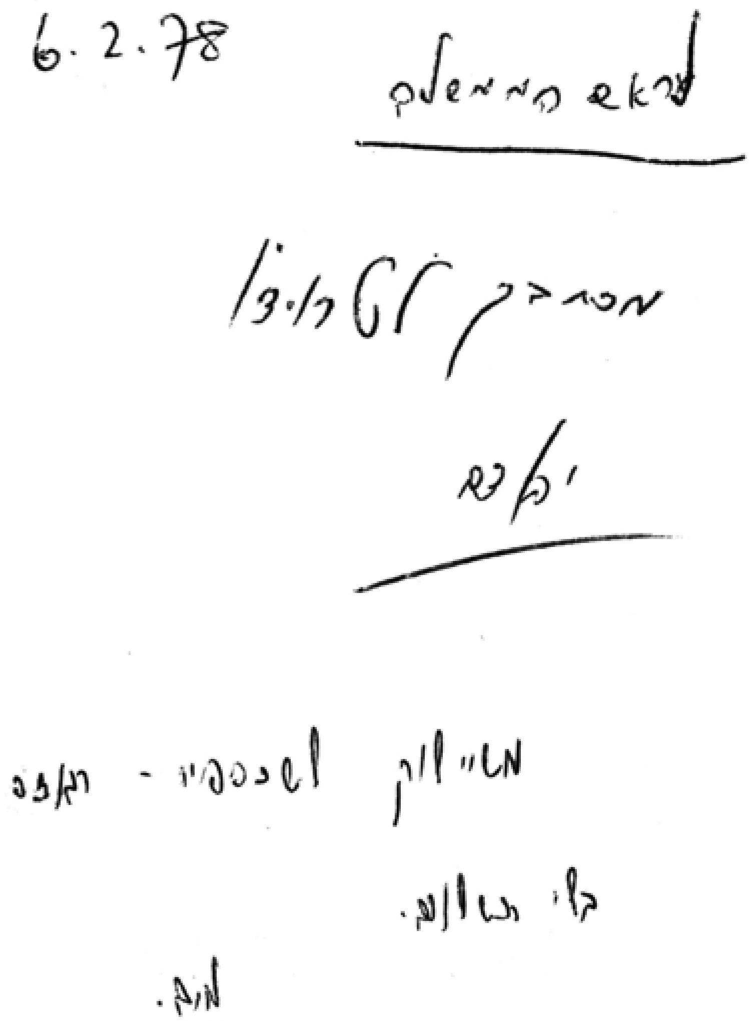

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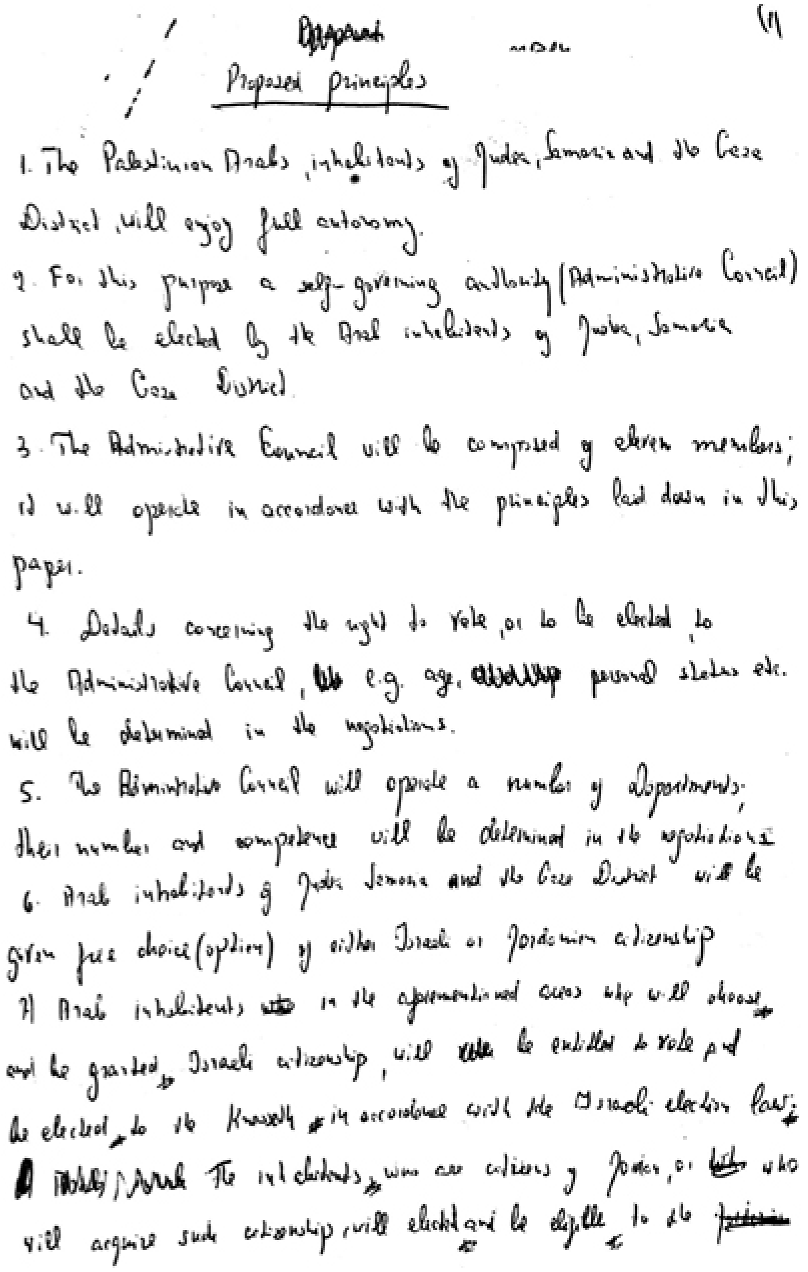

Proposed principles

1. The Palestinian Arabs, inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District will enjoy full autonomy.

2. For this purpose a self-governing authority (Administrative Council) shall be elected by the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District.

3. The Administrative Council will be composed of eleven members; it will operate in accordance with the principles laid down in this paper.

4. Details concerning the right to vote, or to be elected, to the Administrative Council, e.g. age, [illegible] personal status etc. will be determined in the negotiations.

5. The Administrative Council will operate a number of Departments; their number and competence will be determined in the negotiations.

6. Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District will be given free choice (option) of either Israeli or Jordanian citizenship.

7. Arab inhabitants in the aforementioned areas who will choose and be granted Israeli citizenship, will be entitled to vote and be elected to the Knesset in accordance with the Israeli election law.

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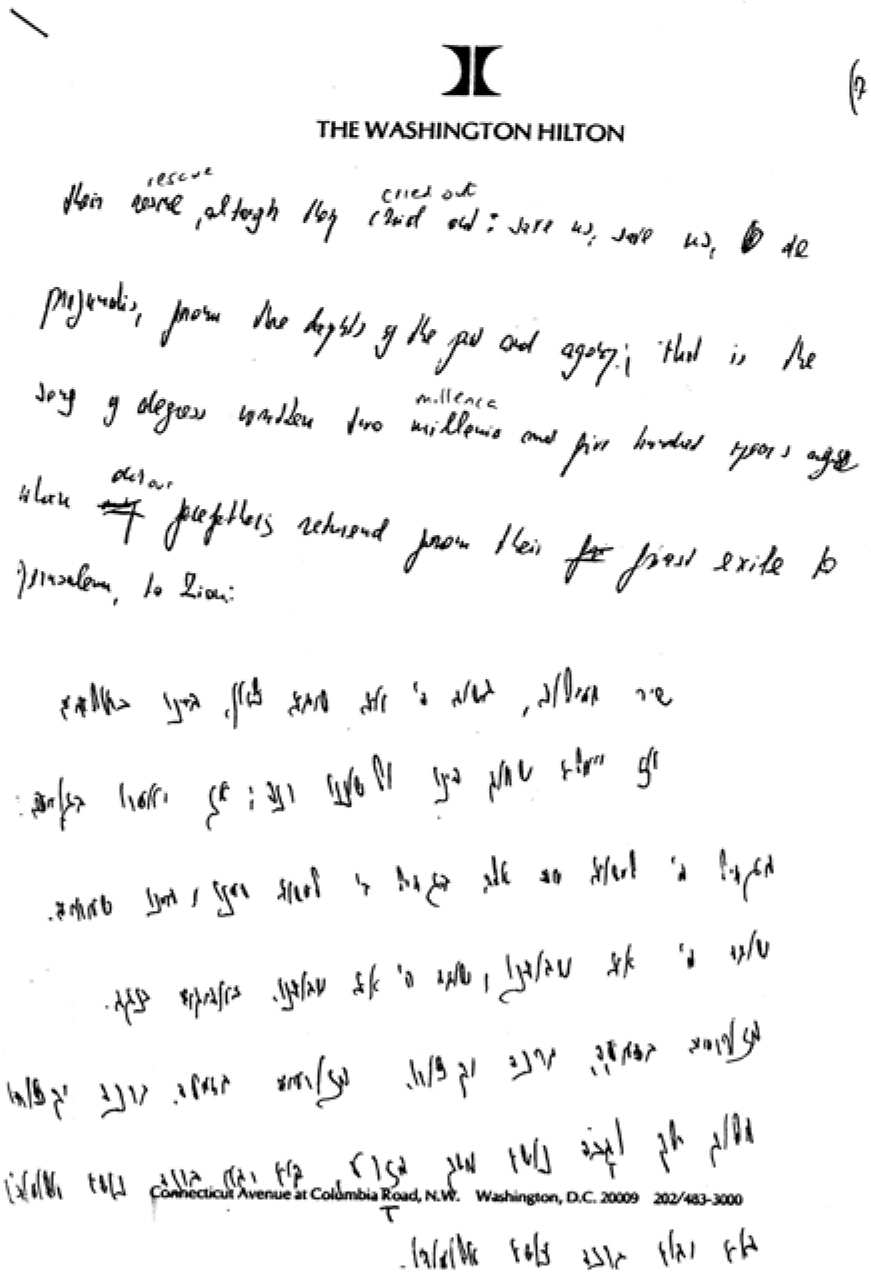

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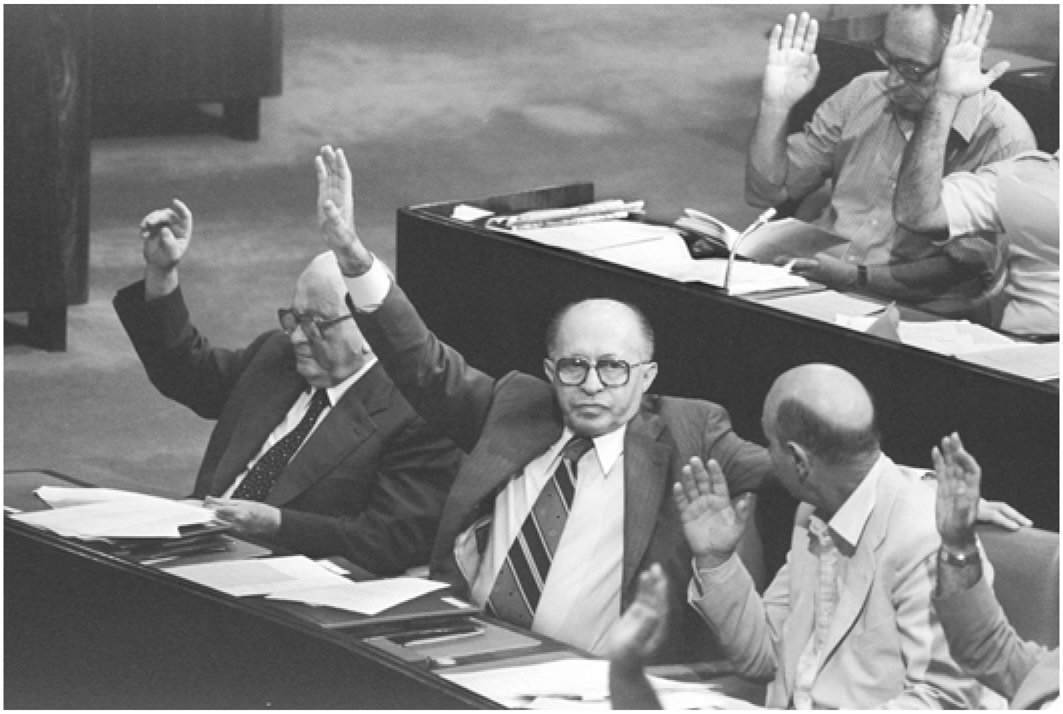

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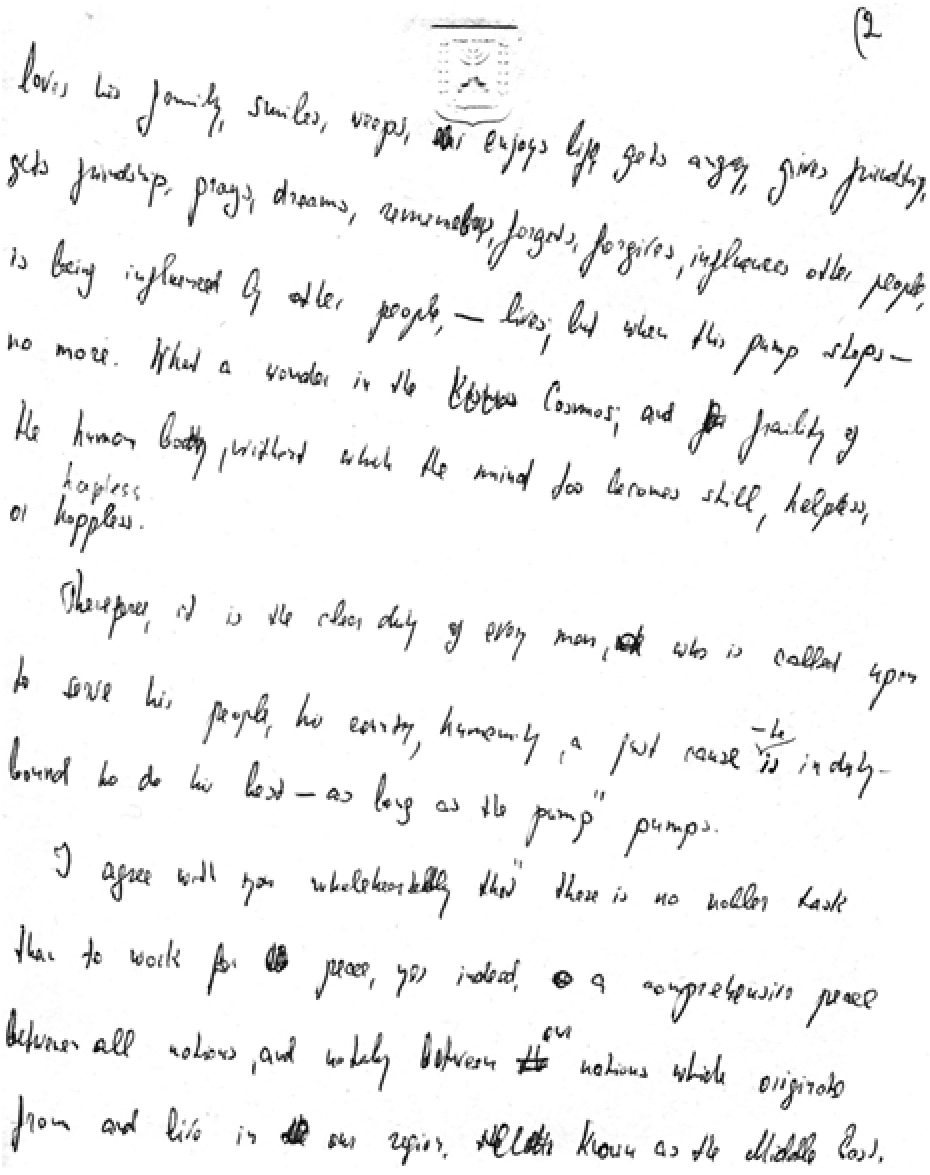
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loves his family, smiles, weeps, enjoys life, gets angry, gives friendship, gets friendship, prays, dreams, remembers, forgets, forgives, influences other people, is being influenced by other people, — lives; but when this pump stops — no more. What a wonder in the Cosmos; and frailty of the human body, without which the mind too becomes still, helpless, or hapless.

Therefore, it is the clear duty of every man, who is called upon to serve his people, his country, humanity, a just cause — he is in duty-bound to do his best — as long as the "pump" pumps.

I agree with you wholeheartedly that "there is no nobler task than to work for peace, yes indeed, a comprehensive peace between all nations, and notably between our nations which originate from and live in our region, known as the Middle East.

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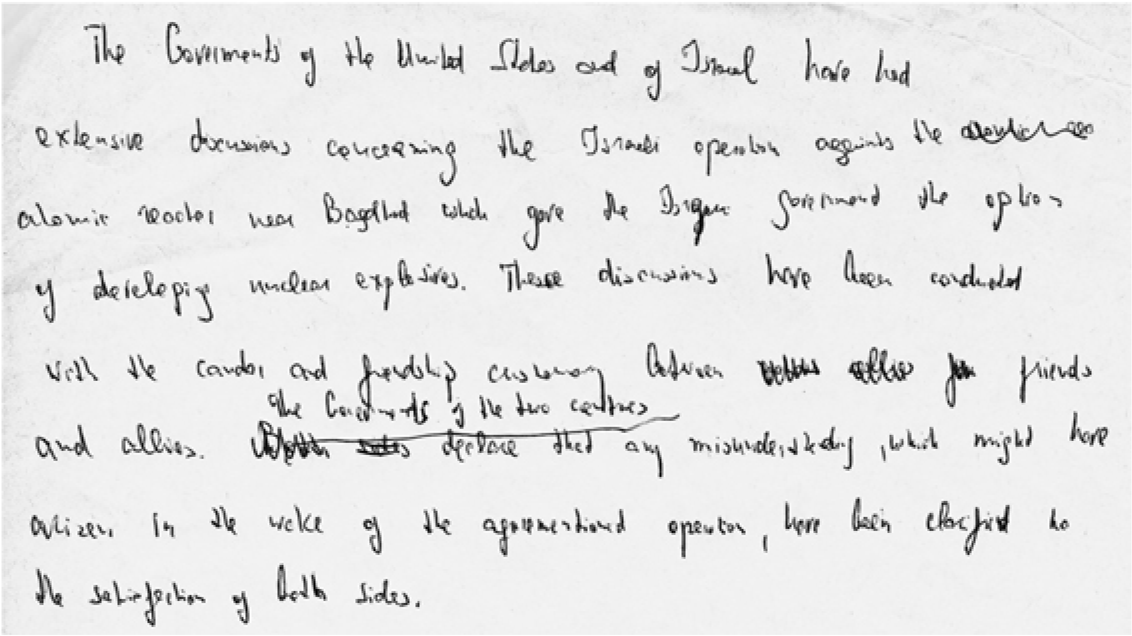

The Governments of the United States and of Israel have had extensive discussions concerning the Israeli operation against the atomic reactor near Baghdad which gave the Iraqi Government the option of developing nuclear explosives. These discussions have been conducted with the candor and friendship customary between friends and allies. The Governments of the two countries declare that any misunderstanding, which might have arisen in the wake of the aforementioned operation, have been clarified to the satisfaction of both sides.

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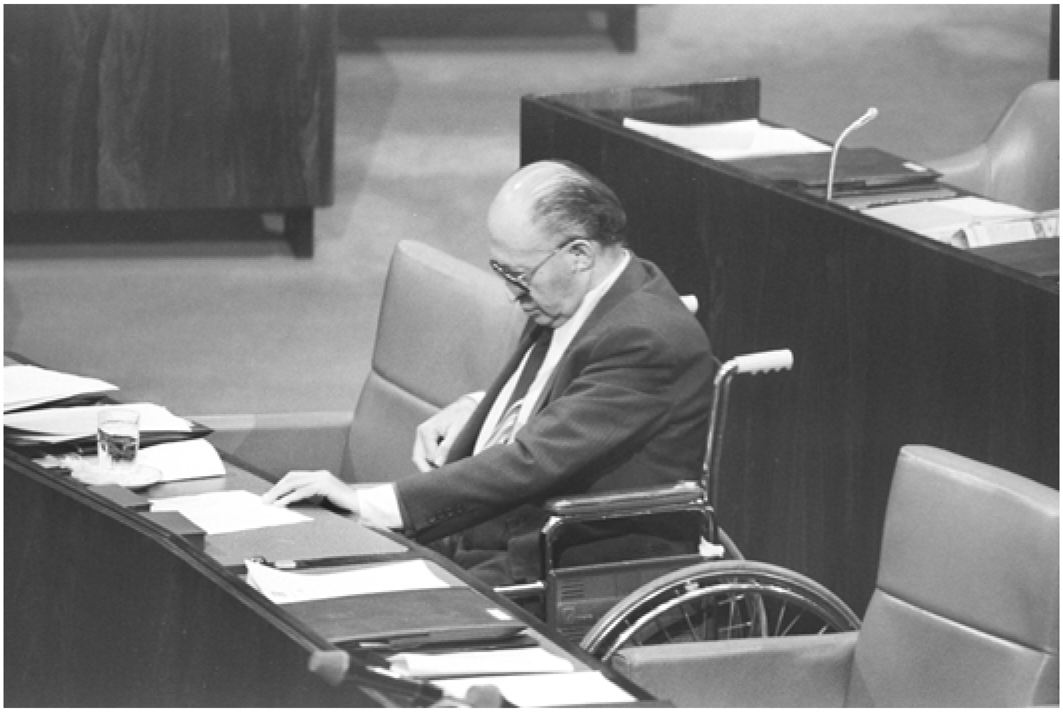

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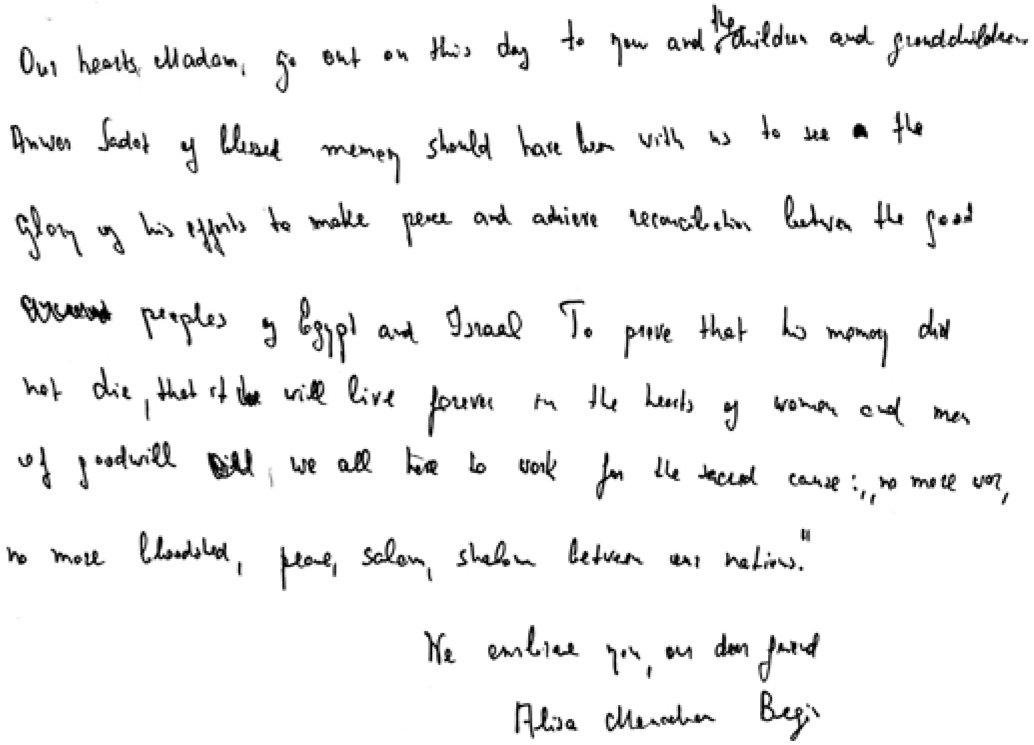
Our hearts, Madam, go out on this day to you and the children and grandchildren. Anwar Sadat of blessed memory should have been with us to see the glory of his efforts to make peace and achieve reconciliation between the good peoples of Egypt and Israel. To prove that his memory did not die, that it will live forever in the hearts of women and men of goodwill, we all have to work for the sacred cause: no more war, no more bloodshed, peace, salam, shalom between our nations."

We embrace you, our dear friend
Aliza Menachem Begin

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“*L’ma’an Zion lo echeshe*[illegible]*u’l’ma’an Yerushalayim lo eshkot*”——[illegible]62[illegible]

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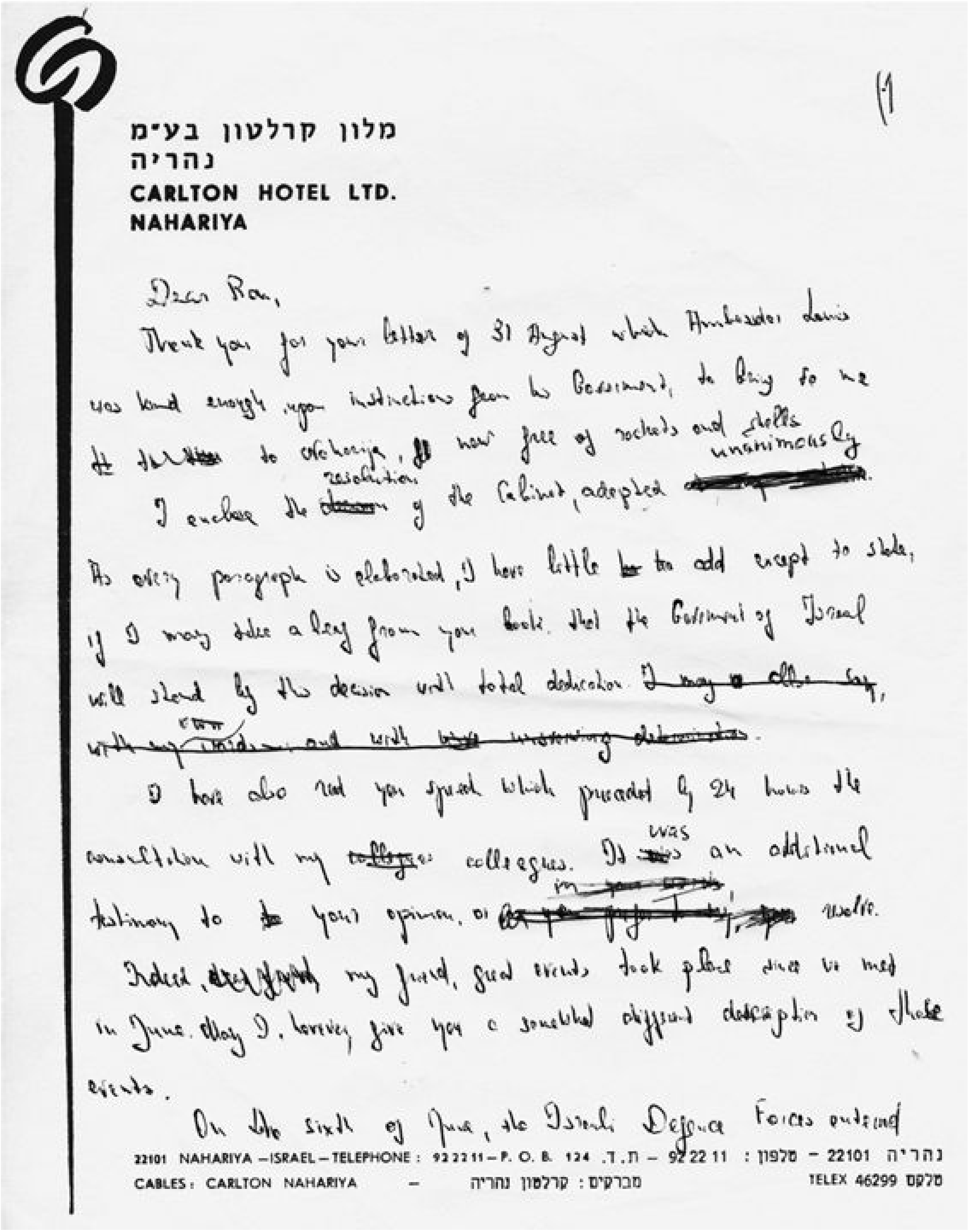
מלון קרלטון בע״מ
נהריה
CARLTON HOTEL LTD.
NAHARIYA

(1)

Dear Ron,

Thank you for your letter of 31 August which Ambassador Lewis was kind enough, upon instructions from his Government, to bring to me to Nahariya, now free of rockets and shells.

I enclose the resolution of the Cabinet, adopted unanimously [illegible].

As every paragraph is elaborated, I have little to add except to state, if I may take a leaf from your book, that the Government of Israel will stand by this decision with total dedication. ~~I may also say, with my own [illegible], and with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].~~

I have also read your speech which preceded by 24 hours the consultation with my colleagues. It was an additional testimony to your opinion, or [illegible] in [illegible], world.

Indeed, my friend, great events took place since we met in June. May I, however, give you a somewhat different description of these events.

On the sixth of June, the Israeli Defence Forces entered

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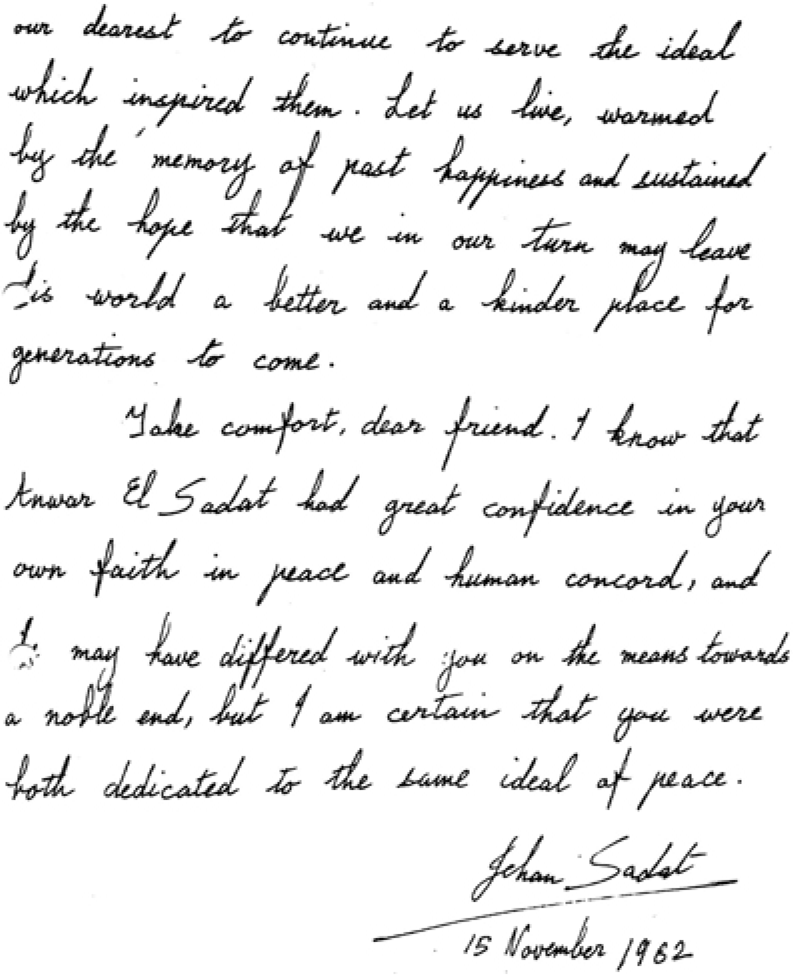
our dearest to continue to serve the ideal which inspired them. Let us live, warmed by the memory of past happiness and sustained by the hope that we in our turn may leave this world a better and a kinder place for generations to come.

Take comfort, dear friend. I know that Anwar El Sadat had great confidence in your own faith in peace and human concord, and he may have differed with you on the means towards a noble end, but I am certain that you were both dedicated to the same ideal of peace.

Jehan Sadat

15 November 1962

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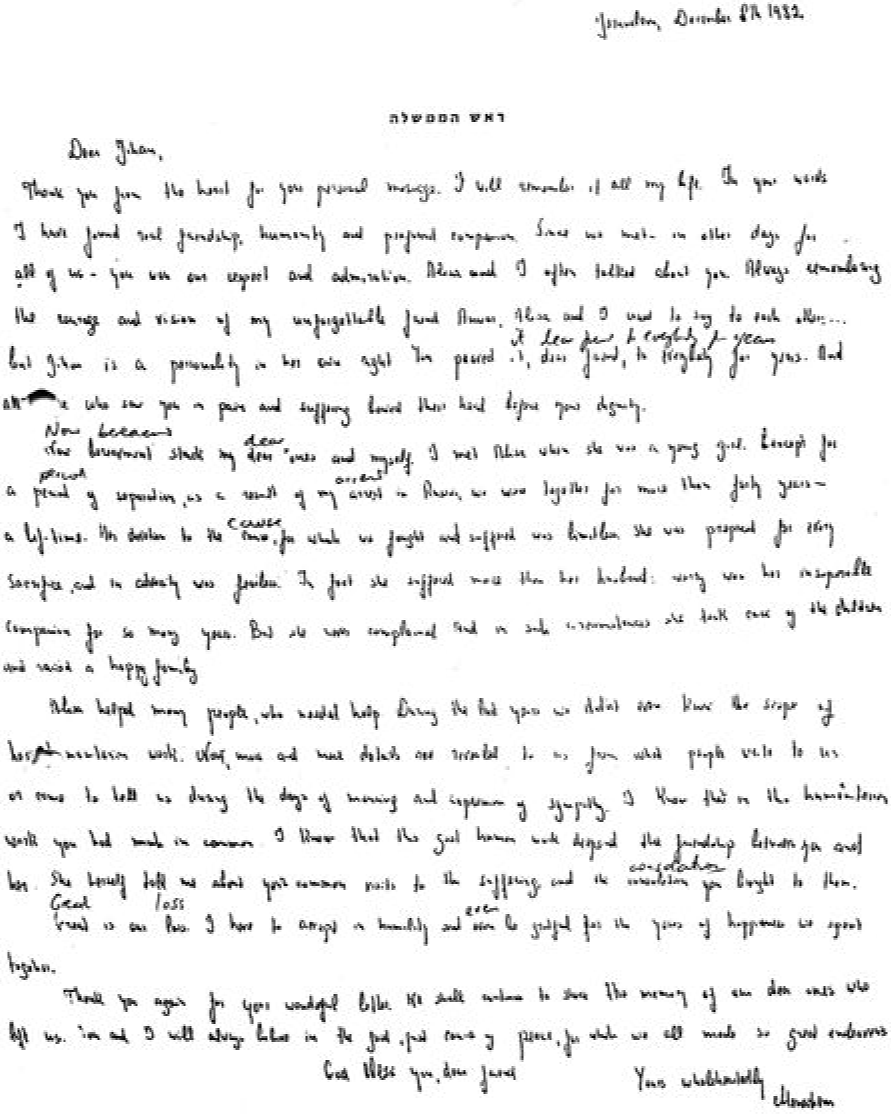

Jerusalem, December 8th 1982

ראש הממשלה

Dear Jihan,

Thank you from the heart for your personal message. I will remember it all my life. In your words I have found real friendship, humanity and profound compassion. Since we met — in other days — for all of us you won our respect and admiration. Aliza and I often talked about you. Always remembering the courage and vision of my unforgettable friend Anwar, Aliza and I used to say to each other... but Jihan is a personality in her own right. You proved it, dear friend, [illegible] for years. And all who saw you in pain and suffering bowed their head before your dignity.

Now bereavement struck my dear ones and myself. I met Aliza when she was a young girl. Except for a period of separation, as a result of my arrest in Russia, we were together for more than forty years — a life-time. Her devotion to the cause, for which we fought and suffered was limitless. She was prepared for every sacrifice, and in adversity was fearless. In fact she suffered more than her husband: worry was her inseparable companion for so many years. But she was courageous and in such circumstances she took care of the children and raised a happy family.

Aliza helped many people, who needed help. During the last years we didn't even know the scope of her humanitarian work. Now, more and more details are revealed to us from what people write to us or come to tell us during the days of mourning and expression of sympathy. I know that in the humanitarian work you had much in common. I know that this great human work deepened the friendship between you and her. She lovingly told me about your common visits to the suffering and the consolation you brought to them.

Great is our loss. I have to accept it in humility and even be grateful for the years of happiness we spent together.

Thank you again for your wonderful letter. We shall continue to share the memory of our dear ones who left us. You and I will always believe in the good, just cause of peace, for which we all made so great endeavours.

God bless you, dear friend

Yours wholeheartedly
Menachem

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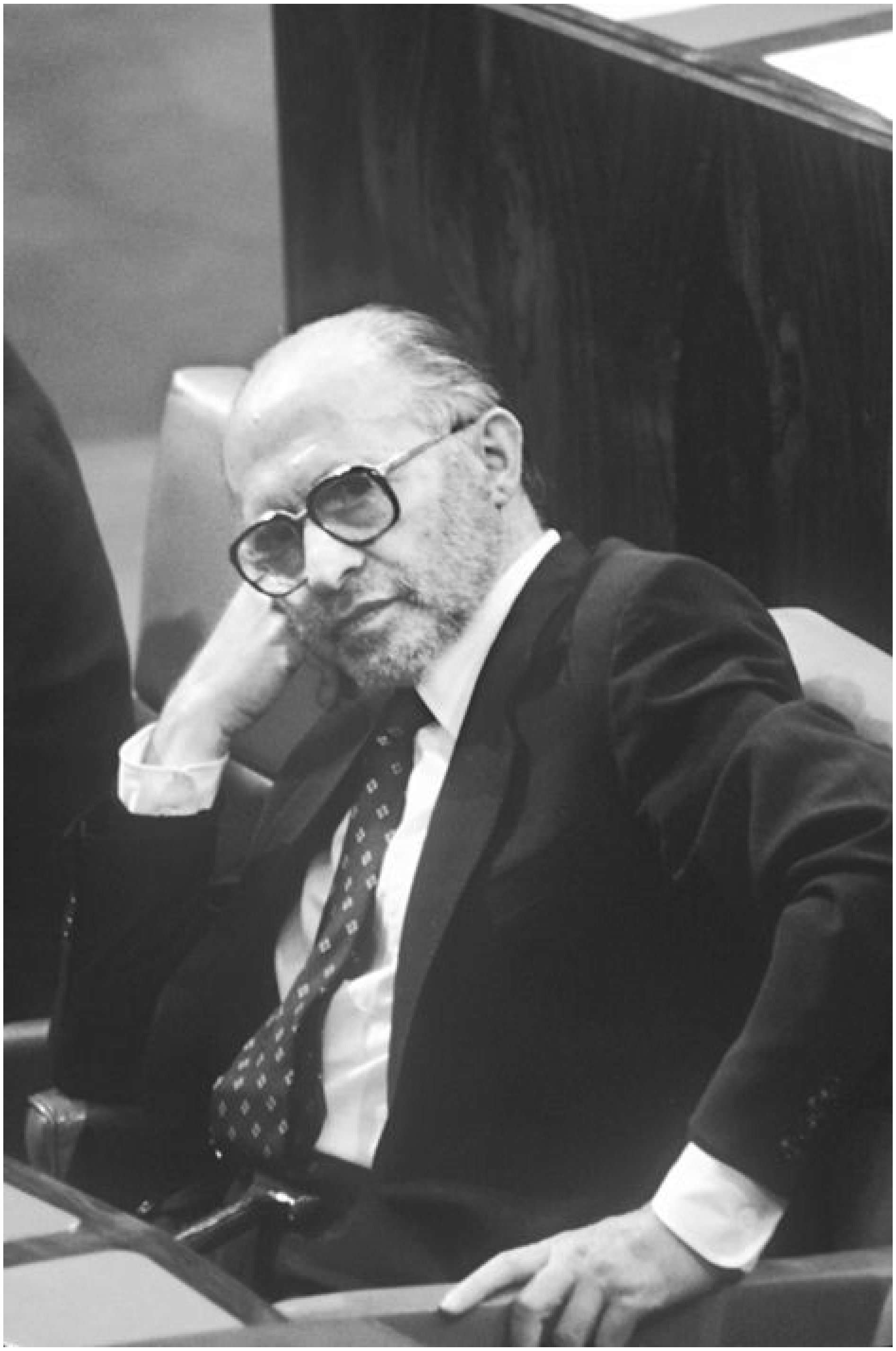

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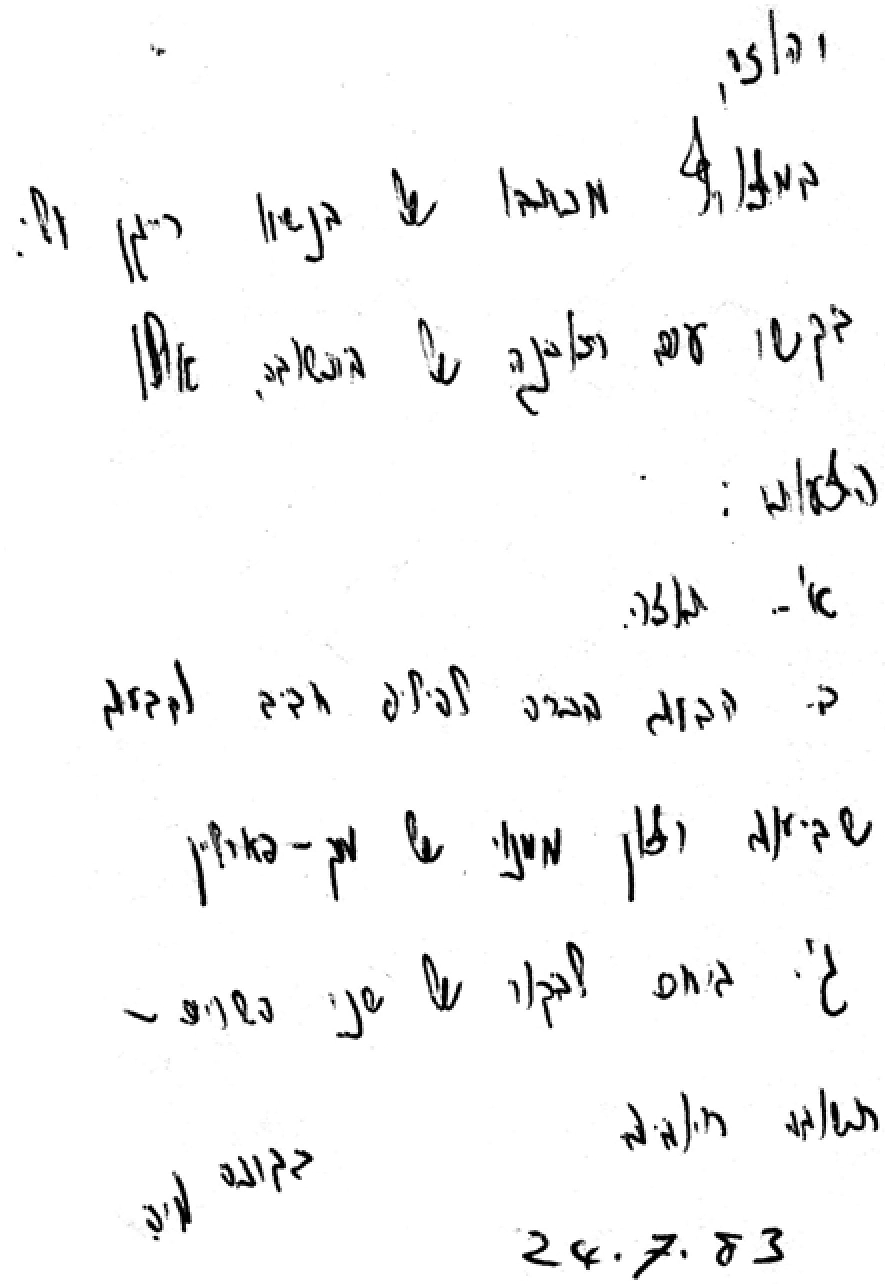
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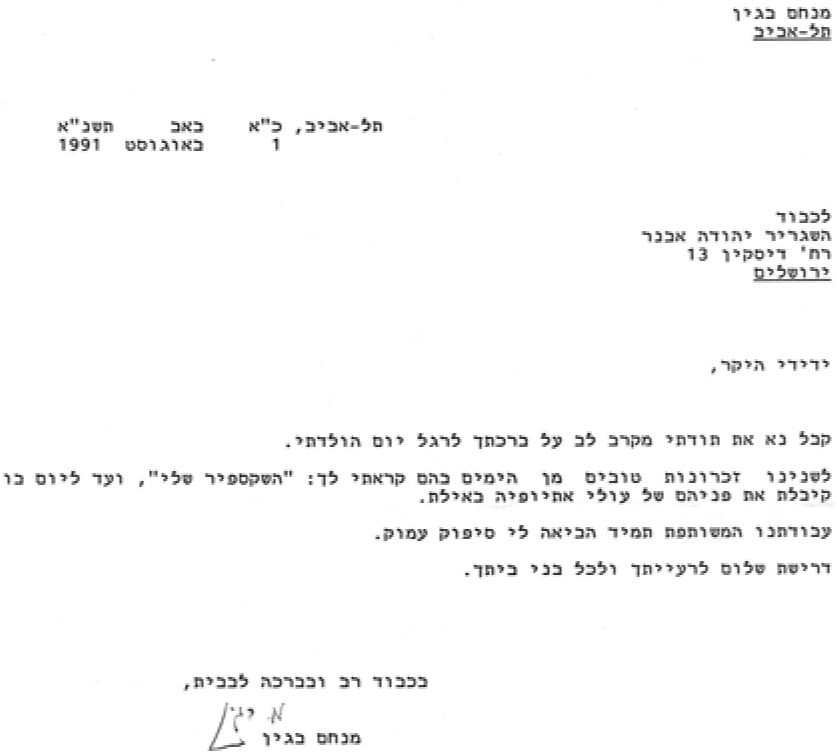

מנחם בגין
<u>תל-אביב</u>

תל-אביב, כ"א באב תשנ"א
1 באוגוסט 1991

לכבוד
השגריר יהודה אבנר
רח' דיסקין 13
<u>ירושלים</u>

ידידי היקר,

קבל נא את תודתי מקרב לב על ברכתך לרגל יום הולדתי.

לשנינו זכרונות טובים מן הימים בהם קראתי לך: "השקספיר שלי", ועד ליום בו קיבלת את פניהם של עולי אתיופיה באילת.

עבודתנו המשותפת תמיד הביאה לי סיפוק עמוק.

דרישת שלום לרעייתך ולכל בני ביתך.

בכבוד רב ובברכה לבבית,

מנחם בגין

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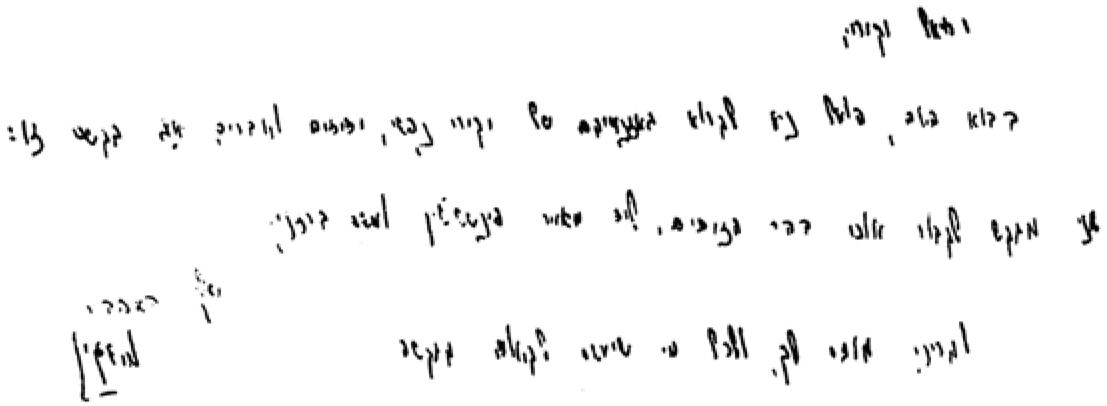

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